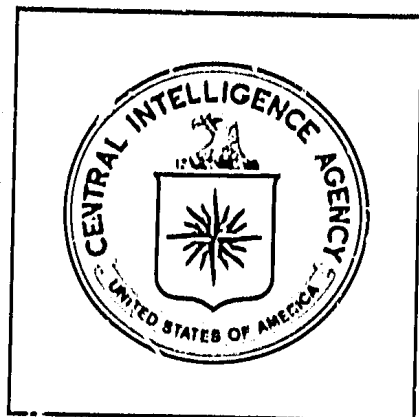


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Top Secret



STAFF NOTES:

Soviet Union Eastern Europe

State Department review completed

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SOVIET UNION - EASTERN EUROPE

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Soviet Artist Takes On the Leadership

Maverick sculptor Ernst Neizvestny has apparently stirred up a hornet's nest among the cultural bureaucracy and in the leadership with his two-month-old application to visit the West on a Soviet passport. When he filed his application, Neizvestny said that he felt confident he would be allowed to leave. But, he added, those in the upper reaches of the party and government who are favorably disposed to his case, including culture minister Demichev, faced opposition from some who feared his travel might set a bad precedent for other official artists [REDACTED]

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There is now evidence that Neizvestny's case has generated such a serious problem of principle for the regime that it has been referred to the Politburo. The concern felt by some Soviet leaders for the country's image abroad is apparently once again in conflict with the ingrained fears of others who see a threat to domestic controls and to doctrine.

The Politburo's consideration of Neizvestny's case--whether or not it is ultimately favorable--illustrates some interrelated points, including:

- The need for a "collective" approach to cultural policy in view of the failure to fill the cultural slot on the Secretariat vacated by Demichev last December;
- The division in the leadership on issues of cultural policy, especially those bearing on the Soviet image abroad during an era of detente;
- The ability of prominent figures with contacts both in the Soviet bureaucracy and in the West to claim the attention of the

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leadership, despite the current, general crackdown on political dissidents and cultural nonconformists of lesser stature.

Neizvestny, who was ousted from the Artists Union and harassed since he applied for foreign travel, told the US embassy last week that his trusted friend, poet Andrey Voznesensky, was recently sent by a "highly placed political figure" to inform him of the status of the case. According to Voznesensky, the Politburo considered the matter at a recent session, but ended in an inconclusive split. Senior ideologist Suslov is said to have taken a leading role in urging Neizvestny's ouster from the country as a common emigrant, arguing that this would impart the proper ideological message. Foreign Minister Gromyko and KGB chief Andropov, however, reportedly felt that Neizvestny should be allowed to leave on a Soviet passport--like cellist Mstislav Rostropovich--so as not to damage Soviet prestige abroad. Neizvestny was particularly struck by Andropov's moderate position in view of his internal security responsibilities.

The sculptor feels that the main purpose in sending Voznesensky as emissary was to induce him not to make the case public and thus undermine the position of those in the leadership who argue for a "normal," unspectacular departure. Neizvestny, who of course is hoping this will be the ultimate outcome, is banking on the fact that many leading figures like his work and on his connection with the "untouchable" Khrushchev family who commissioned him to sculpt the monument unveiled at the former leader's grave last September.

Meanwhile, Neizvestny is pulling some other strings. He appears to be counting on the intervention of some "old friends," among whom he claims V. V. Zagladin, deputy chief of the Central Committee's

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International Department; V. S. Semenov, deputy foreign minister; and Y. M. Samoteykin, whom Neizvestny calls one of Brezhnev's foreign policy advisers. (Samoteykin, who does have diplomatic and Central Committee experience in foreign affairs, was identified in 1973 as a *referent* to Brezhnev, a position below that of personal aide.)

Neizvestny is taking in stride the harassment to which he and his family have been subjected. He believes that the Artists Union and the lower echelons of the security apparatus are only trying to keep him off balance and to signal other artists that they cannot follow his example painlessly.

Looking ahead, Neizvestny is worried about the disposition of much valuable sculpture he will have to leave behind. He has had two offers of safekeeping for his works, one from Viktor Louis--a good customer in the past when Neizvestny needed money--and another from Sergei Khrushchev, the son of the late leader. Neizvestny has accepted Sergei's offer, and is now storing much of his sculpture at the Khrushchev dacha outside of Moscow.

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Long-Term Plan Skirted in Leaders' Speeches

The US embassy has examined the election speeches of about two thirds of the Soviet leaders as published in *Pravda* and local newspapers. Among other things, the speeches suggest that there is some uncertainty or difficulty concerning the formulation of the long-range economic plan (1976-90).

Kazakhstan First Secretary Kunayev is the only leader so far to have mentioned the 15-year plan. He quoted from Brezhnev's election speech last year, when the General Secretary said that the 25th Party Congress and subsequent Supreme Soviet would discuss and adopt both a five-year and a long-term plan with programmatic significance. This passage was deleted in *Pravda's* version of Kunayev's speech, the only substantive censorship by *Pravda* that the embassy has discovered.

The Soviet press has not reported much progress on drafting the fifteen year plan, and uncertainty about it may have been one reason the April plenum did not announce an agenda for the Congress. The speeches to be given by the top leaders this week may offer further clues about the status of the plan.

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Leningrad Lecturer Comments on Detente

A Soviet propaganda lecturer, speaking on June 4, has offered a few clues regarding official views of the present state of, and the prospects for, a US policy of detente in the aftermath of Communist victories in Vietnam and Cambodia. His message was basically optimistic, but betrayed concern about the depth of detente support in the US and the ability of the Ford administration to pursue its current foreign policy in a period of adversity.

The lecturer assured his audience that President Ford remains committed to improved relations with the USSR, but added that US foreign policy problems in Indochina, the Middle East, and southern Europe were causing his administration severe difficulty. He repeated the familiar Soviet theme that these and other problems have provoked an intensified reaction from detente opponents in the US. On the other hand, the speaker also said that the "wonderful" Communist victory in Vietnam--far from damaging US-Soviet relations--could actually improve their prospects. This is an echo from Brezhnev's VE anniversary speech in which he implied that it was a positive development because Vietnam would no longer complicate US-Soviet relations.

Speaking in Leningrad, where relatively frank public lectures are not uncommon, the lecturer described the closing chapters of US involvement in Indochina as illustrative of the serious decline in presidential power in Washington. He implied that Europeans believe former president Nixon provided stronger leadership in foreign and economic affairs. Another Leningrad lecturer earlier this year cast doubt on the re-election prospects of the present US administration.

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The speaker somewhat surprisingly hedged his remarks on Brezhnev's scheduled visit to the US, describing it as contingent on success of the strategic arms talks. While he expressed confidence that an agreement would be reached, he predicted that without such agreement, there would be no summit. Recent public statements by Soviet leaders have been much less equivocal about the trip to Washington. Foreign Minister Gromyko, for example, flatly predicted on June 2 that Brezhnev's "upcoming visit...will be a major milestone."

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Belgrade Reasserts the Independent
Origins of Yugoslav Communism

On the occasion of Tito's 83rd birthday two weeks ago, *Borba*, Belgrade's main daily, began to run a six-part series recounting Tito's turbulent relations with the Comintern in the late 1930s.

The articles are probably meant to remind all concerned about the dangers of subjecting a national Communist party to supra-national stratagems set by Moscow and to justify Belgrade's opposition to Soviet attempts to dominate preparatory meetings for a European Communist conference.

The series begins by rejecting "simplistic" explanations that the Comintern gave Tito a dominant role in the party in late 1937. To the contrary, the Comintern played him off against other Yugoslav party leaders in exile who were more amenable to Soviet leaders. The article alleges that the Comintern nearly dissolved the Yugoslav Party at several stages of the conflict and credits Tito with blocking such a move. The final installment points out that although Tito was de facto leader of the party much earlier, the Comintern waited until early 1939 to give him its unqualified endorsement.

The author of the series is Pero Damjanovic, who says he had access in his research to Tito's private correspondence with Comintern officials and other Yugoslav Communists. Damjanovic, although described as an "independent researcher at the Institute of Modern History in Belgrade," undoubtedly has high-level sponsors in the party. His most recent book on Tito, a strongly worded defense of Tito's role in Yugoslavia's home-bred revolution, was published in 1968, when Soviet-Yugoslav ties were troubled by differences over the emerging "Prague spring."

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Pact Image Building

The Warsaw Pact states are continuing to project a facade for the organization that is in keeping with Soviet detente policies in Europe.

In an effort to show its "popular roots," the Pact on June 4 marked the 20th anniversary of its establishment by convening a session of "public representatives" from the member states. After meeting in Prague for two days, the gathering issued a propaganda-laden communique that urged a speedy conclusion of the European security conference, supported the hoary Pact offers to disband if NATO dissolves itself, and called for European-wide cooperation at the grass-roots level.

A three-day delay in releasing the communique suggests the Romanians again caused problems. Bucharest can hardly object to giving the Pact a more benign appearance, but it will be alert to Soviet efforts to use this image-building as a pretext for promoting closer political coordination within the Warsaw Pact.

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CHRONOLOGY

June 3

Soviet trade delegation headed by Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Grishin concludes a lengthy visit to India.

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USSR commences a four-week, de facto closure of an area of the North Pacific for missile-testing purposes.

25X1

US and USSR resume negotiations in Moscow on how to treat peaceful nuclear explosions in the threshold test-ban treaty.

25X1

Third anniversary of the Four-Power Berlin agreement; Soviet media attack official Western statements that it applies to "all Berlin."

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Premier Kosygin confers at the Kremlin with visiting Chase Manhattan Bank president David Rockefeller, who also meets with Foreign Trade Minister Patolichev.

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Czechoslovakia establishes diplomatic relations with Jamaica.

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East German Foreign Minister Fischer concludes a four-day, official visit to the USSR.

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Foreign Minister Gromyko confers with PRGSVN "Foreign Minister" Binh, "who is in transit in Moscow."

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June 3

Speaking at Rostov-on-the-Don, Defense Minister Grechko delivers his speech as a candidate for election to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. [REDACTED]

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Candidate Politburo member Demichev speaks to his constituency in Yaroslavl. [REDACTED]

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Polish Premier Jaroszewicz confers with visiting Soviet Deputy Premier Leschko. [REDACTED]

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June 4

Politburo member Mazurov makes an election speech in Leningrad. [REDACTED]

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Romanian President Ceausescu begins a four-day, state visit to Brazil. [REDACTED]

25X1

Chase Manhattan Bank president David Rockefeller, beginning a two-day visit to Prague, meets with party/state chief Husak and other Czechoslovak officials. [REDACTED]

25X1

Bulgarian Premier Todorov makes a one-day, official visit to the USSR. [REDACTED]

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June 5

After conferring with President Tito, Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis concludes his two-day, official visit to Yugoslavia. [REDACTED]

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East German Central Committee convenes for a plenum meeting; it promotes labor chief Tisch from candidate-member to full member of the Politburo and sets May 18-22, 1976, as dates for the next (9th) party congress. [REDACTED]

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June 5

North Korean party/state chief Kim Il-song leaves Bulgaria and arrives in Yugoslavia, where he meets with President Tito. [REDACTED]

25X1

Politburo member Pelshe, in Volgograd, and Politburo candidate-member Surovetsky, at Chelyabinsk, make election speeches. [REDACTED]

25X1

Polish party chief Gierk concludes a four-day, official visit to Sweden. [REDACTED]

Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Semichastnov flies from Moscow to Tokyo for two days of talks on Soviet-Japanese economic cooperation. [REDACTED]

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Soviet and Yugoslav trade officials conclude two weeks of negotiations in Belgrade and sign a protocol on bilateral economic cooperation during the 1976-80 period. [REDACTED]

25X1

Deputy Premier Lesachko concludes an official visit to Budapest after conferring with Hungarian Premier Lazar and signing an agreement on agricultural and chemical machinery. [REDACTED]

25X1

Luxembourg Grand Duke Jean begins a six-day, state visit to the USSR. [REDACTED]

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June 6

French naval squadron concludes a five-day, official port call in Leningrad. [REDACTED]

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June 6

Politburo members Shcherbitsky and Grishin deliver their election speeches in Dnepropetrovsk and Moscow, respectively. [REDACTED]

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Undersecretary of the Navy Potter concludes a twelve-day, official visit to the USSR. [REDACTED]

25X1

Bulgarian Foreign Minister Mladenov concludes a five-day, official visit to Japan. [REDACTED]

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June 7

Defense Minister Ljubicic confers with the high-ranking Chinese military delegation presently visiting Yugoslavia. [REDACTED]

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Hungary establishes diplomatic relations with Trinidad-Tobago. [REDACTED]

25X1

Romanian President Ceausescu leaves Brazil, stops for two hours in Venezuela, and then begins a five-day, state visit to Mexico; he is the first Communist head of state to visit Mexico. [REDACTED]

25X1

USSR and Japan sign a fisheries agreement in Tokyo. [REDACTED]

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25X1

Hungarian Foreign Minister Fuja ends his three-day, official visit to France. [REDACTED]

25X1

Chase Manhattan Bank president Rockefeller concludes an official visit to East Germany. [REDACTED]

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June 8

Deputy Premier V. Novikov leaves Moscow for Bonn and further talks on Soviet - West German economic cooperation. [REDACTED]

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Brezhnev attends a soccer match in Moscow; it is his first public appearance since May 9. [REDACTED]

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Hungarian and Romanian officials sign in Budapest a protocol on coordinating their national economic plans for the 1976-80 period. [REDACTED]

25X1

USSR launches Venus-9, an unmanned space probe intended to reach Venus in October. [REDACTED]

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June 9

Vatican 'Foreign Minister' Archbishop Casaroli begins a six-day, official visit to East Germany, an unprecedented event. [REDACTED]

25X1

North Korean party/state chief Kim Il-song concludes a five-day visit to Yugoslavia. [REDACTED]

25X1

Politburo members Suslov and Andropov make election speeches. [REDACTED]

25X1

Secretary of the Air Force McLucas begins a three-day, official visit to Yugoslavia. [REDACTED]

25X1

Warsaw Pact commander in chief Yakubovsky begins an official visit to Bulgaria. [REDACTED]

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FUTURE EVENTS

June 11 Premier Kosygin to make his election speech. [REDACTED]

25X1

Hungarian Foreign Minister Puja to begin a three-day, official visit to West Germany. [REDACTED]

25X1

Romanian President Ceausescu to pay a brief call at the White House en route home from Mexico. [REDACTED]

25X1

East German Premier Sindermann to begin a four-day, official visit to Yugoslavia. [REDACTED]

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June 12 President Podgorny to make his election speech. [REDACTED]

25X1

June 13 Brezhnev to make his election speech. [REDACTED]

25X1

FRG-GDR transit commission to meet. [REDACTED]

25X1

Portuguese President Costa Gomes to begin a three-day, state visit to Romania. [REDACTED]

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June 15 Parliamentary elections to be held in Hungary and the Soviet republics. [REDACTED]

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June 16 Polish Machine Industry Minister Wrzaszczyk, whose ministry presently is considering more than \$1 billion in potential imports from the US, to begin an eleven-day, official visit to the US. [REDACTED]

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June 16-20 Bulgarian party/state chief Zhivkov to visit Romania. [redacted] 25X1

June 17 French President Giscard d'Estaing to begin a four-day, state visit to Poland. [redacted] 25X1

June 18 US and USSR to begin three days of consultations in Moscow on the Law of the Sea matters. [redacted] 25X1

June 20 USS Mainwright to begin a five-day, official port call at Constanta, Romania. [redacted] 25X1

June 23 East German Foreign Minister Fischer to begin an official visit to Denmark. [redacted] 25X1

SALT to resume at Geneva. [redacted] 25X1

Bulgarian party/state chief Zhivkov to begin a visit to Italy. [redacted] 25X1

June 24 Premiers of CEMA member-states to convene in Budapest for their annual meeting. [redacted] 25X1

June 25 USSR and Yugoslavia to establish diplomatic relations with Mozambique on its independence day. [redacted] 25X1

late June Belgian King Baudouin to make a state visit to the USSR. [redacted] 25X1

late June - early July Foreign Minister Gromyko expected to make an official visit to Canada.

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July 2

Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis to
begin a three-day official visit to
Bulgaria.



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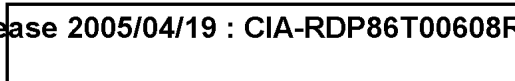
July 9

US and USSR to resume talks on their
Pacific Ocean fisheries problems.



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